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342 tiative, they must be held in the several private houses. Furthermore, on these
[345] occasions one can count on the presence of perhaps three hundred or more persons; hence houses of the measurements given above are barely adequate, since most of the ceremonies take place inside the house, not in the yard.

Names of houses.—Formerly, every house had an individual name given by the
312 owner who built it. Some house owners observe this custom even today. The con-
552 struction completed, the owner invites neighbors and friends to a "hair-trimming party" (the reference is to the irregular tips of the new thatched roof), and on this occasion he announces the name, chosen by himself freely and not dependent on the clan, as are the names of persons. Some examples: ĕi:'ru-gi̯ne (ĕi:'ru, swallow; gi̯'ne, dwelling); ĕe̯ii̯'ne (ĕe̯ii̯', to soar in the air); pa:'ru (the name of a mythical *serra* [p. 141]); ṇi̯rē-gi̯ne (ṇi̯, to float; rē, tied together); taive-gi̯'ne (taive', "tauary, a tree [*Couratari* sp.]), the house of the culture hero dyəi'.

Interior and living accommodations.—Attached to the walls is the most characteristic object of the modern house, a sort of stage or platform of paxiuba palm at least 2 by 1.5 m., but usually much longer. Its elevation varies from 10 to 70 cm. In houses inhabited by more than one family there is a platform for each family, besides the previously mentioned lofts beneath the roof.

Seated upon these platforms, the Indians pass the better part of the day, working
352 or conversing. And here at night they spread out large cloths made from the inner
513 bark of the *tururí* tree[a] and erect the mosquito nets. Formerly, there was no such platform; it became necessary only when the mosquito net was adopted. Its name, dyʊra' (l.g., *giráu*), is Tupi.

283 Originally the Tukuna slept in hammocks (na:'pa) made by weaving tucum
[513] thread to make an elastic mesh; beneath, they maintained a small fire on cold nights.
[439] *Tucum* thread, twisted by the women on the naked thigh or abdomen, is today another article of Tukuna commerce with the Neobrazilians. I never saw thread of *ambaúva*[a] fibers, which, according to Tessmann, is manufactured by the Tukuna, and none of the Indians whom I consulted had any idea of its preparation.

513 The hammock is made by passing an "endless" thread around two vertical posts,
286 the distance between them equal to the length desired for the hammock. A shuttle of paxiuba wood or, as a makeshift, a leafstalk of the burity palm is used for the weaving. Formerly, hammocks were apparently sometimes made of tucum in a technique of double transversal threads, but the Tukuna themselves say that this type was an imitation of the hammocks of a strange tribe, exactly which tribe they do not know. I never saw cotton used for the woof, as Martius reports.

The hammocks, in spite of having "cuffs" (*sobrepunhos*) are usually short, but, owing to the weaving technique, they stretch enormously in a lateral direction.
●[531] The Indian women know how to produce various decorative patterns by inserting black threads or even red, yellow, and green.*

Nowadays, the hammock—which is never set up beneath a mosquito net—serves for the daytime rest, since rocking is the only way of keeping at a little distance the horrible plague of mosquitoes and gadflies. It is offered as a privilege to an honored guest.

* T., nʊ'ĕvē, ayə'ē.
[a] *Cecropia* sp.; known also as *embaúba*, *imbaúba*.

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372 two stones; the technique of making fire by the friction of two sticks was unknown.[1] The Tukuna described to me, also, how the ancients struck two stones (tɔ'a-ɛi[ⁿ'ń) together, catching the sparks in tinder of *taracuá*, a substance found in the nests of *iracuá* ants.

[824] Some, however, still remember well the fire drill used for this purpose, which was made of white *envira* wood. The drill was a rod about sixty centimeters long, or a shorter piece enclosed in a stem of *canna brava*. The hearth was a small board of the same wood, which rested on two small sticks. The drill, rotated between the palms of the hands, pierced the little board, and the glowing powder fell through the hole upon the tinder beneath. This apparatus, say the Tukuna, was invented by the culture hero dyoi'.

[297] Today, a wing of a parrot, forest turkey, buzzard, or royal hawk serves as a fire
[412] fan; the shaft is sometimes wrapped in a piece of cloth and covered with wax. Among the Tukuna I have never seen any fire fans of vegetable material, but the Neobrazilians and the Kokáma use them exclusively.

All the members of the family capable of working in the garden patch always bring kindling wood when they return. If, in spite of this, there is no kindling, special trips are made for it.

[412] Fire tongs are unknown, but once I came across a sort of fork, formed of three
[252] branches stemming from a single point, which served to arrange the coals and to place upon them a piece of meat for roasting. The fork was especially made for this purpose and had already been in use for some time.

352 The platform supported on four stakes is never found in the kitchen where things are laid on the ground or are hung from wooden N-shaped hooks thrust into the roof thatch. These hooks sometimes end in a bird's head and are called vɛ'kɨ'ča (see p. 142). Some of the kitchens, however, have a small platform suspended from the roof, on which dried meat, bananas, and other foods are stored.

[415] Jugs, bowls, and plates have their places on an outside platform (girán), at the side of the shed. The jars (i.g., *igaçabas*), even when empty, are kept in the kitchen. They are turned upside down when not in use, and it is customary to store fruits, and so forth, under them in order to keep the food away from domestic animals and bats.

312 Although the Tukuna habitually obtain their drinking and cooking water from a clean spot, such as the center of the current, it bothers them little if the filled containers remain for hours exposed to the rays of the burning sun. They drink
[271] little water, and one often finds the containers empty, but no one seems to feel the lack.

Utensils and containers.—All the Tukuna gourds, *cuias*, are made of shell of the
415 gourd (*cuieira*) and are generally covered on the inner surface, or in a few rare instances on the outer surface as well, with a black lacquer of *cumatê* juice (fig.
[386] 2, *a*, *b*). Sometimes the outer surface is decorated with an indelible red paint, *urucú*,
[531] in a design of palm trees and animals. There are large hemispherical gourds, smaller elliptical ones, and little, narrow, long ones.

In the kitchen one always finds a number of wooden ladles and spoons, sometimes of a respectable size containing almost a half liter; these represent a post-Columbian

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.

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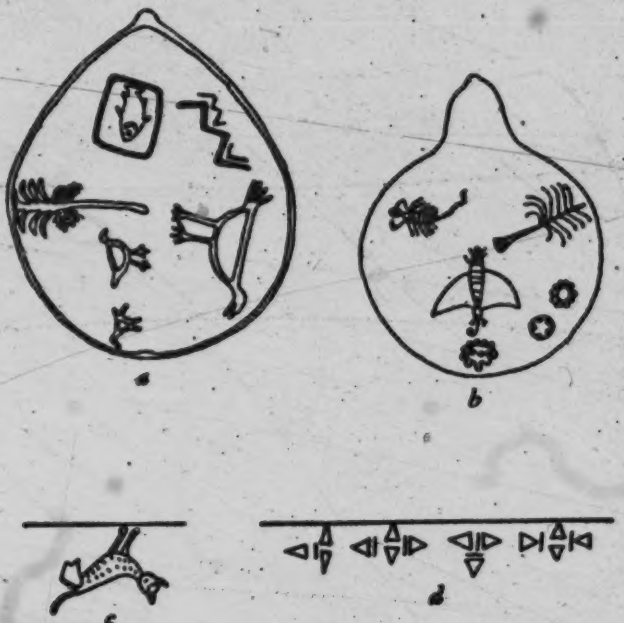

Fig. 2. Gourd decoration. *a*, *b*. Interior, red design on black background. *a*, *d*. Exterior, engraved edge patterns.

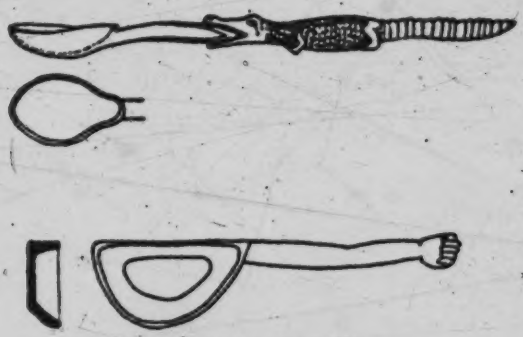

Fig. 3. Wooden spoons. × ⅛.

influence, as their Portuguese name, *colhér* (T., kuye'ra), proves. The artistic impulse of the Tukuna has not, however, been limited to merely copying the European models; they frequently give these utensils fantastic and original shapes. There are double spoons of different sizes, with a bowl at each end of the handle; others with asymmetric, semicircular bowls; still others with the handle carved in the shape of an alligator, and so on. These spoons are also often painted with cumatê lacquer (fig. 3). There are always some spatulas for stirring the contents of the

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small craft made from the trunks of *paxiuba barriguda*.[18] In contact with the Omágua, hostile at first but ultimately peaceful, they exchanged their admittedly primitive craft for their neighbors' *ubá*—a canoe completely hollowed out from a cedar trunk, with the gunwales not expanded by fire.

Finally, they learned from the Neobrazilians the use of the *casco* (pl. 10, *f*), a canoe hollowed out from a tree trunk, carved both inside and out, expanded by fire, and finally strengthened by interior braces. Today the Tukuna are excellent canoewrights for craft of this type, their cascos being duly appreciated by the Neobrazilians. They have become a canoe people and sometimes pass entire weeks on trips in this craft.

At the same time, though they have neglected their original trails, they have opened up countless paths and passages of all kinds through the flooded jungles in the marginal region along the Solimões and the igarapés, where they fish and go from one house to another in their canoes. Since these passages are often low and narrow, the Indians use only mats to protect their gear from the rains, not the *punacarica* or semicylindrical awning common to the entire Amazonian region. Rafts are never used for transport.

The casco is propelled almost exclusively by paddling, only rarely by poling. The paddle (fig. 4, *c*), another article the Tukuna sell in quantities to the Neobrazilians, has a round blade with a point about the length of the radius of the central part or longer. The shaft ends in a small, slightly concave crosspiece. The Tukuna say that originally the points of the paddles were shorter and less sharp than now. According to Tessmann, the blade was large and round. The blade, the crosspiece, and a small part of the adjacent shaft are invariably stained with *cumatê* paint, only the central part of the shaft remaining white. There are no other decorations on the paddle except those in imitation of the Neobrazilians'.

[18] According to J. S. Decker, Flora Brasileira, this species is *Iriartea exorrhiza*; *I. ventricosa* is known as *castiçal*.—Trans.

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304 [301] ***Piercing of the septum.***—The Tukuna have largely abandoned the practice of piercing the septum, which accompanied perforation of the ear lobes. When they pierced it, they wore in the hole a wand of reed or canna brava called vë-ëra'ñ (from vë, introduce; rañ, nose).

[177] ***Tooth filing.***—The Tukuna custom, which today has become quite common of filing to points the upper incisors and, more rarely, the lower as well appears have been acquired by contact with the Neobrazilians. Yet the mother of one of my informants condemned the practice as improper and ugly and said that this operation was designed to prevent caries, which forms easily between the teeth—an explanation which is perhaps a secondary rationalization.

[386] ***Tattooing.***—The question of primitive tattooing among the Tukuna is difficult to settle satisfactorily; some writers probably took for tattooing what was actually only painting with the juice of the genipa (*Genipa americana*), which is still widely used today.

304 531 114 Padre Monteiro Noronha, the first author to devote a small chapter to the tribe, says that they "have the same strokes [as their neighbors the Caca-tapiiya: a wide black stroke, curled at the tip, which begins next to the nose and ends at the sides of both ears] but narrower and shorter." Martius mentions "eine oder zwei schmale, quer über das Gesicht laufende, tätowierte Linien. Doch findet sich dieses Merkmal keineswegs gleichmässig." Castelnau writes: "D'autres avaient sur les joues deux lignes noires transversales," without indicating whether the lines are painted or tattooed.

One of Marcoy's plates shows a male Tukuna with a double stroke or line in the shape of a loop that begins next to the ear and ends in a small cross on the cheek with an extension to the corner of the mouth. Bates writes: "Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short, straight lines on the face." His illustration represents the Indians with two short, parallel lines on each cheek, extending slightly to the side of the nose. Ortes who as far as the Tukuna are concerned seems to have copied Bates, describes them as "tattooed in numbers of short, straight lines on the face." Lastly, the Tukuna of Barbosa Rodrigues has on each cheek a curved line (the curvature pointing downward) from the nose to the ear, and another almost parallel line that begins at the corner of the mouth. There is no indication whether these are painted or tattooed.

304 [177] Today there is not a single Tukuna with tattoo on the face, the bit that appears on their arms being an imitation of Neobrazilians.

304 171 531 According to Nino, my best Tukuna informant, tattooing came to the tribe from the ču'mana (Yumána) Indians. These people, however, used an oval network pattern surrounding the mouth, with ramifications of the design extending to the ears. Nino told me that the members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', used formerly to tattoo the cheeks in imitation of the markings of macaws. The lines of the design were first drawn in by burnt *cicantã* resin and were then punctured by a needle.

304 531 Another informant told me that "those who were learned" had the figure of a crayfish, *caranguejo*, and a scorpion tattooed on the forearm or on the back of the hand, and that the dye was the juice of a plant called bu'rë (see p. 42).

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V. ART

Sculpture and Painting

532 517 In the field of native art the Tukuna have not only preserved the traditions of their ancestors but have even developed them. Above all, the Tukuna have a curious bent toward sculpture. An Indian, seeing a large, misshapen tree trunk floating near the edge of a lake, will repair to his canoe, lay hands on his hatchet, and give the log the outlines of an enormous alligator. Observing a rounded termites' nest hanging from a high branch bent over the igapó, he will stop, climb up with his machete, and, with perilous acrobatics, transform it into the horrid grimace of a demon. Any knot on a thick tree trunk within reach of his hands invariably receives similar treatment. A Tukuna rubber gatherer I once saw had decorated his smoking hearth with plastic figures of animals. (See p. 48.)

The sculptured figures of men and women (pl. 9, *b*) made of muirapiranga, an extremely heavy wood, toys for children, and so forth, are not very artistic; but one finds among the representations of animals (pl. 9, *c*, *d*) very handsome works of art, starting with small stools in the form of turtles or bats. The Tukuna taste for sculpture, however, is displayed more strikingly in two classes of objects: dance staves and necklaces of figurines from tucumã palm nuts.

532 293 The dance staves (dɔ:'pa), made of a light, white wood and from one to one and a half meters long, are used at ceremonies, the same staff never being used on two occasions. They are carried over the left shoulder; the lower end generally has a hook or button from which is suspended a small drum to be struck with the right hand. The upper part of the staff, which rests on the shoulder, has usually four planed surfaces and is decorated by one or more carved figures, interspersed with geometric designs, the whole being painted in bright colors (pl. 14, *a–f*).

532 301 The figurines of the necklaces are carved of tucumã palm nuts (*Astrocaryum* sp.), generally tucumã piranga, but sometimes ordinary tucumã or anajá nuts (*Maximiliana regia*) are used. The first two have a surface of brilliant jet, the third is a clear, brown color. The figures are of men firing with a shotgun, women with children, a girl in the puberty-ceremony costume, pairs of dancers, or an infinity of animals, from the crab louse (*úra*) to the jaguar. These little figurines, separated only by rows of seeds or glass beads, make very striking necklaces (pl. 13).

532 463 In the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there are a brother and sister, Flavio pi'ë and Raimunda ç'k[rane, thirty and thirty-five years old, respectively, who are the best artists in this line. Their products are sought by neighboring Indians and by those of other igarapés, where their motifs are later imitated. Raimunda does not limit herself to copying live models; she showed me a goodly number of figurines which were pure fantasy, and others which she "saw in a dream." For his part, pi'ë likes to reproduce motifs seen in prints of civilized origin. Thus, he carved a dragon, the trade-mark of a certain marketed product, and the United States eagle, complete with the shield of stars and stripes on its breast.

● 531 The Tukuna produce far less painting than sculpture, partly because of their extremely primitive technique, for the Tukuna have not yet invented or adopted

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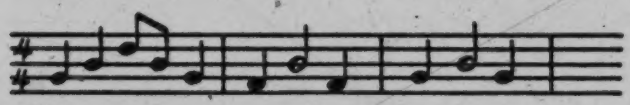
the brush. In its place they use the tips of wood, small rulers, the back of a knife, or even the finger tips, when they do not smear the coloring plant directly on the object to be decorated. All the pigments are vegetable dyes. The juice of one fleshy fruit (T., na'i'kʉ) furnishes a dark violet which, upon contact with iron, changes into a clear blue. A bright yellow is obtained from the root of the *açafrôa* (*Amaryllis* sp.). The crushed leaves of a jungle plant called bʉ'rë provides green; urucú seeds give a bright red. The fresh colors give a brilliant appearance; they are applied indiscriminately and arbitrarily, without the slightest regard to the natural color of the object reproduced. The best products of Tukuna art are the tururí (bark cloth) costumes of the masqueraders (pls. 16, 17, 18).

Music

Even less developed than Tukuna sculpture and painting are their songs and musical instruments. The Tukuna sing in an almost imperceptible manner; unless one observed the moving lips one would not know that they were singing, since the sound of their voices is completely muffled by the din of the drums and rattles. At celebrations, certain women were pointed out to me as reputedly good singers, and, in the company of others, they sang expressly for me. Even though they were at a distance of three handbreadths from my ear, I could hardly hear the song. The men sing in equally muted fashion and in falsetto.

The music is composed sometimes of only two notes infinitely repeated; at other times the melody is a little more varied:



The Tukuna have a very peculiar instrument, which at first glance appears to be a horn, of paxiuba wood, 6½ m. long and slightly conical in the upper part. Its diameter varies from 12 cm. at the mouth to 5 cm. at the mouthpiece. This instrument is called tɔ'/kį, and to see it is taboo for women and the uninitiated (na'-ʉtį ya tɔ'/kį, "the uaricána is taboo"). The tɔ'/kį is not, however, a wind instrument but a megaphone through which one sings and speaks.

The companion to the tɔ'/kį is the bʉ'/bʉ, a true conical horn from 4 to 6 m. long, made from a long strip of bark of the dʉ:'ru tree, rolled into a spiral and secured by two lateral rods tied along the entire length of the instrument. In the lingua geral, the name uaricána is applied to both the tɔ'/kį and the bʉ'/bʉ. The sound of the bʉ'/bʉ, though loud, is suave and agreeable, and its music, the best the Tukuna have, resembles the very slow playing of a trumpet:

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539 "Come up, come up!" screamed her companions. But she replied: "It is nothing. A thunderstorm is approaching." But when she still continued, a stronger clap of thunder was heard. Then, frightened, she attempted to get out of the clay pit, but the furious dyë'vaŭ seized her, pulled her to the bottom, and she was never seen again.

323 *Ceramic technique.*—The clay, at first a yellowish gray, is mixed with a large percentage of husk ash of the *caruipe* (T., pu'ru),[8] which gives it a darker color.

The potter works with the material on top of a wooden slab, on which is placed a round, green leaf of a sort of liana called ečï-pa'tl, one of the Menispermaceae. On the small base of all Tukuna vases one always notes the impressions of the leaf veins of this plant. After making this small, circular, bottom piece, the potter constructs the vase, raising the sides by laying hoops of clay one on top of the other and pressing them together with the fingers (pl. 7, *f*). The sides are then scraped

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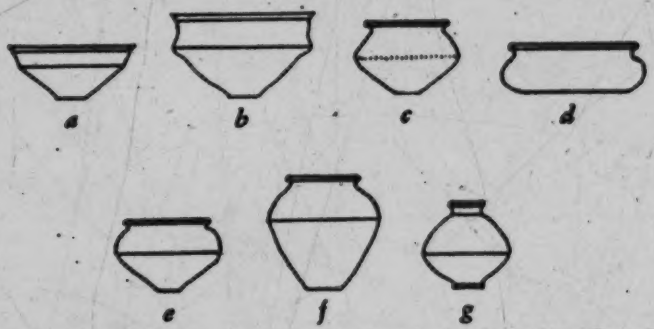

Fig. 8. Pottery. *a*, *b*. Large bowls, × 3/13. *c*, *d*. Pots, × 3/13. *e*, *f*. Jars, × 1/13. *g*. Jug, × 1/13.

[237] to the desired thickness with a rectangular piece of gourd rounded at the corners, or with the plug of a snail shell, and the lip of the vase is smoothed with a piece of moistened fungus (*orelha de pau*).

The potter, coming to the widest part of the vase, props it up so that the still soft sides will not fall in through their own weight; she uses small supports of the frondstalk of the burity palm, or a hoop, with attached supports, made from a piece of the stalk. Propped up in this way, the piece is left to dry slowly in the shade. After the clay has become so firm that the shoring may be dispensed with, the surface of the piece is carefully polished with a seed stone of the anajá palm.

The ware is fired in the yard in an inverted position, covered with fine kindling and pieces of dry tree bark.

323 The pots (buetë'rë), when not completely lacking in decoration, show rows of
● 531 impressions below the lip or at the point of greatest diameter (fig. 8, *c*, *d*). The plates and bowls, both called čuri in Tukuna, never have handles. Pots and igaçabas (T., barį', jars for fermented drinks) are almost always painted with a white or gray mineral base with the designs in red (urucú), which turns maroon after firing.

The water jugs, tç$^{n'}$į^{n} (fig. 8, *g*; pl. 6, *b*), are globular or subglobular, with a short neck. The jars, which sometimes have a height of 80 cm. and an almost equal diameter, are conical in the lower part, subglobular in the upper. These are always

[8] *Licania scabra* Hook, a wood rich in silicate.

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painted with a meandering pattern of maroon on a white background; sometimes there are also coarsely painted figures of people, animals, and plants. Sometimes, though rarely, the surfaces of the jugs have also plastic decorations in the shape of animals—frogs, toads, lizards, and so forth—which give the impression of climbing up the belly of the piece (pl. 6, *c*). In a rubber-smoking hut made by a Tukuna rubber gatherer (*seringueiro*), I once even saw a hearth decorated in this fashion. No Neobrazilian rubber gatherer ever felt the urge to give such an object an artistic aspect! Decoration, plastic as well as painted, is used principally on certain small vases serving as containers for trifles, on which the potters lavish all their artistic skill (pl. 6, *g*).

In elegance of form and purity of style of painted decorations the pottery of the Tukuna falls far short of the pottery of their neighbors, the Kokáma, and there is no evidence that it was formerly on a higher level than today.

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PLATE 6

Pottery. *a*. Vase used in thickening curare. *b*. Water jar. *c*. Jug with figure of frog in relief. *d*, *f*. Plates. *e*. Decorated vase for trifles. *g*. Small decorated vessels. *a–e*, × ⅛; *d–f*, × ⅛; *g*, × ⅛.

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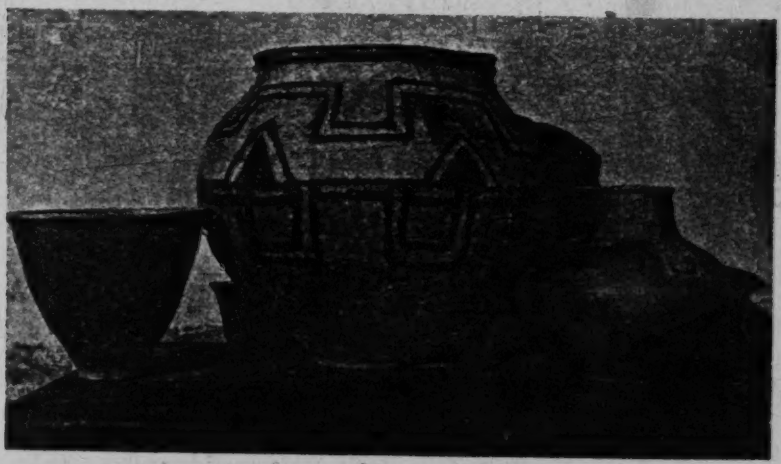

a b c

d e f

[P. 18]

g

POTTERY

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Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

Bark cloth.—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark cloth (pl. 64).

Basketry.—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

Pottery.—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

Gourds.—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear designs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

Weapons.—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manufacture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre-Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live